The CRISIS

JUNE-JULY, 1955 15¢

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THURGOOD MARSHALL & ROY WILKINS

NAACP Board Statement on Supreme Court Decision

Directives to Branches on Supreme Court Decision

Race Supremacy — Curse of the Master Race

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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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Vol. 62, No. 6 **Whole Number 524**

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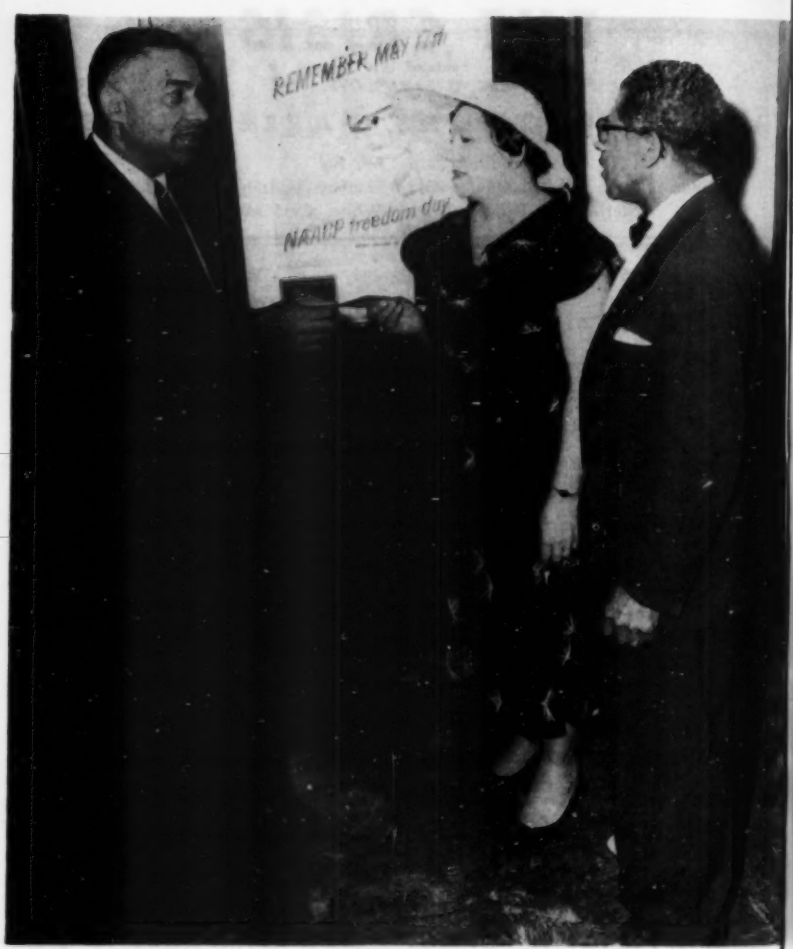

Speed Lunon

MRS. VERONICA B. HALL, *president New Orleans League of Classroom Teachers Local 527 (AFT & AFL) and vice-president American Federation of Teachers (AFL), presents a check for $500 to Daniel Byrd (left), assistant director, Department of Teacher Information and Security, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., while Arthur Chapital, Sr., president New Orleans NAACP branch looks on. In making the presentation, Mrs. Hall said, "This is to help the NAACP during this period of transition."*

Text of United States Supreme Court Decision of May 31, 1955, Implementing its Historic Decision of May 17, 1954

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

NOS. 1, 2, 3, 4 AND 5.—OCTOBER TERM, 1954.

1	Oliver Brown, et al., Appellants, *v.* Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas, et al.	On Appeal From the United States District Court for the District of Kansas.
2	Harry Briggs, Jr., et al., Appellants, *v.* R. W. Elliott, et al.	On Appeal From the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina.
3	Dorothy E. Davis, et al., Appellants, *v.* County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, et al,	On Appeal From the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.
4	Spottswood Thomas Bolling, et al., Petitioners, *v.* C. Melvin Sharpe, et al.	On Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.
5	Francis B. Gebhart, et al., Petitioners, *v.* Ethel Louise Belton, et al.	On writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of Delaware.

[May 31, 1955.]

BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases were decided on May 17, 1954. The opinions of that date,[1] declaring the fundamental principle

that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional, are incorporated herein by reference. All provisons of federal, state, or local law requring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle. There remains for consideration the manner in which relief is to be accorded.

Because these cases arose under different local conditions and their disposition will involve a variety of local problems, we requested further argument on the question of relief.[2] In view of the nationwide importance of the decision, we invited the Attorney General of the United States and the Attorneys General of all states requiring or permitting racial discrimination in public education to present their views on that queston. The parties, the United States, and the States of Florida, North Carolina, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Maryland, and Texas filed briefs and participated in the oral argument.

These presentations were informative and helpful to the Court in its consideration of the complexities arising from the transition to a system of public education freed of racial discrimination. The presentations also demonstrated that substantial steps to eliminate racial discrimination in public schools have already been taken, not only in some of the communities in which these cases arose, but in some of the states appearing as *amici curiae,* and in other states as well. Substantial progress has been made in the District of Columbia and in the communities in Kansas and Delaware involved in this litigation. The defendants in the cases coming to us from South Carolina and Virginia are awaiting the decision of this Court concerning relief.

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[1] 347 U. S. 483; 347 U. S. 497.

[2] Further argument was requested on the following questions, 347 U. S. 483, 495—496, n. 13, previously propounded by the Court:

"4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment

"(*a*) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

"(*b*) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?

"5. On the assumption on which questions 4 (*a*) and (*b*) are based, and assuming further that this Court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4 (*b*),

"(*a*) should this Court formulate detailed decrees in these cases;

"(*b*) if so, what specific issues should the decrees reach;

"(*c*) should this Court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees;

"(*d*) should this Court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in these cases, and if so, what general directions should the decrees of this Court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees?"

Full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts which originally heard these cases can best perform this judicial appraisal. Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the cases to those courts.[3]

In fashioning and effectuating the decrees, the courts will be guided by equitable principles. Traditionally, equity has been characterized by a practical flexibility in shaping its remedies[4] and by a facility for adjusting and reconciling public and private needs.[5] These cases call for the exercise of these traditional attributes of equity power. At stake is the personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a nondiscriminatory basis. To effectuate this interest may call for elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operated in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in our May 17, 1954, decision. Courts of equity may properly take into account the public interest in the elimination of such obstacles in a systematic and effective manner. But it should go without saying that the vitality of these consitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them.

While giving weight to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling. Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner. The burden rests upon the defendants to establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and is consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date. To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis, and revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems. They will also consider the adequacy of any plans the defendants may propose to meet these problems and to effectuate a transition to a racially nondiscriminatory school system. During this period of transition, the courts will retain jurisdiction of these cases.

---

[3] The cases coming to us from Kansas, South Carolina, and Virginia were originally heard by three-judge District Courts convened under 28 U. S. C. §§2281 and 2284. These cases will accordingly be remanded to those three-judge courts. See *Briggs* v. *Elliott*, 342 U. S. 350.

[4] See *Alexander* v. *Hillman*, 296 U. S. 222, 239.

[5] See *Hecht Co.* v. *Bowles*, 321 U. S. 321, 329-330.

The judgments below, except that in the Delaware case, are accordingly reversed and remanded to the District, Courts to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases. The judgment in the Delaware case—ordering the immediate admission of the plaintiffs to schools previously attended only by white children—is affirmed on the basis of the principles stated in our May 17, 1954, opinion, but the case is remanded to the Supreme Court of Delaware for such further proceedings as that court may deem necessary in light of this opinion.

It is so ordered.

Layne

ROY WILKINS, *NAACP executive secretary, congratulates winning "team" of Charlottesville, Va., branch membership campaign as they toured the national office in New York. Gertrude Keys (left) and Mrs. Thelma Townsend together brought in more than 241 NAACP members during the campaign and won an expense-paid plane trip to New York City.*

■ An interpretative analysis of the Supreme Court Decision of May 31, 1955, and an indication of the NAACP program by Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins, special counsel and executive secretary, respectively, of the NAACP

Interpretation of Supreme Court Decision & the NAACP Program

By Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins

THE May 31 decision combined with the May 17 decision of last year must be viewed as the latest in a series of steps toward full integration of Negroes into American life. When the NAACP began this campaign it was met with state statutes requiring or permitting segregation in public education. These statutory provisions were a complete block to all voluntary efforts to end segregation.

The first cases destroyed the validity of out-of-state scholarships as an excuse for the exclusion of Negroes from professional schools. This was followed by the cases which declared unconstitutional provisions for jim-crow graduate and professional schools. And then the May 17, 1954, decision declared that segregation in public education was unconstitutional. This was followed by the May 31 decision that "all provisions of federal, state or local law requiring or permitting" segregation in public education "must yield to" the principle announced in the 1954 decision.

This determination by the Supreme Court clears the way for school boards to desegregate their systems voluntarily. This is being done in many parts of the South. The opinion also gives us the necessary legal weapons to bring about compliance in areas of the South which openly flout the mandate of the Supreme Court.

The question now before us is: under what conditions and with what

directives were the school cases remanded to lower courts? We know that the highest court did not (a) set a deadline date for either the beginning or the completion of desegregation in the public schools; and (b) outline a definite plan by which desegregation must proceed and by which lower courts might judge the efforts of local school boards toward compliance with the May 17 and May 31 rulings. Not having done this, what did the Court do? What language did it use?

RE-AFFIRMATION OF PRINCIPLE

May 17, 1954 decision re-affirmed. "These cases were decided on May 17, 1954. The opinions of that date, declaring the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional, are incorporated herein by reference."

Last year's opinion, as we all know, declared: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." On May 31 the Court said simply, as an introduction to its opinion, that this principle stands and that everything in the May 31 opinion hangs upon it; that the items in the May 31 opinion must be considered at all times and under all circumstances in the light of the clear principle in the 1954 opinion. The Court refers to the 1954 "constitutional principles" a total of six times in its May 31 opinion, once as "governing constitutional principles."

All school segregation laws are invalid: "All provisions of Federal, state or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle."

This means that all laws, local, state and federal, requiring or permitting racial segregation in the public schools are now null and void, and that no school or other public official or body is bound by such laws.

GOOD FAITH REQUIRED

Local school authorities responsible: "School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems" of ("full implementation of these constitutional principles").

This means just what it says. It means further that it is right and proper for citizens and community groups to begin the campaign for desegregation with the local school authorities.

Good faith required: ". . . courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good-faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles."

The Court is saying here that alleged good faith in carrying out the "governing" constitutional principle of non-segregation can he brought before a court for determination and need not rest upon mere assertion by school authorities or newspapers or politicians or others.

Interest of the plaintiffs: "At stake is the personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a non-discriminatory basis."

Plaintiffs have a right (as set forth in the May 17, 1954, decision) to admission to public schools on a nondiscriminatory basis "as soon as prac-

ticable." The latter phrase must be taken to mean with only such delay as may be permitted by the lower courts in the context of language elsewhere in the May 31 opinion.

MUST START PROMPTLY

Obstacles to be eliminated: "To effectuate this interest may call for elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operated in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in the May 17, 1954, decision."

When the Court says, as it does here, that to protect the right of the plaintiffs "may call for elimination of a variety of obstacles" it must be taken to mean that the Court in effect is ordering that such obstacles be removed. By the strongest inference it means that pleas of the existence of such obstacles cannot be considered valid reasons for denying plaintiffs their rights. The defendants are duty bound, if such obstacles exist, to remove them, whatever their nature.

Must start promptly: "While giving weight to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling."

Here the Court says that even while the lower courts may give due weight to the public interest (of the community at large) and to private considerations (the rights of the plaintiffs) the courts "will require" a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954 ruling." "Will require" is strong, definite, positive language in legal terms, a directive which no lawyer or judge misunderstands or underestimates.

BURDEN UPON DEFENDANTS

Disagreement no basis for failure to comply: "Courts of equity may properly take into account the public interest in the elimination of such obstacles in a systematic and effective manner. But it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them."

Very simply this means that just because individual citizens, officials, or groups do not like or do not agree with the May 17, 1954, opinion they may not ignore, evade or defy it. That is, they may not do so in court in a final determination, no matter how much they talk or write about it in disagreement outside of a courtroom showdown.

Burden upon the defendants: "Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time may be necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner. The burden rests upon the defendants to establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and is consistent with good-faith compliance at the earliest possible date."

It should be noted that only *after* a start has been made will a request for additional time be considered. Here, as in other phases under the jurisdiction of the courts, we have the privilege of challenging such requests for time in the courts, forcing a hearing and a determination. We need not depend upon the mere assertion of a school official that more

time is necessary.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

Problems to be considered by courts: "To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel. . . ."

Non-Racial school districts: ". . . Revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-racial basis. . . ."

Revision of local laws: ". . . and revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems."

In all its pleadings before the courts, the NAACP has granted that allowance should be made for the solving of administrative problems, but it has insisted that diligent attention to solving these would not require a prolonged period. In its section on administrative problems the Court enumerates those which the courts may consider. The time alleged to be required is subject to the burden-of-proof stipulation in the opinion. The nature of the solution of each problem is subject to the "good faith" and "constitutional principles" stipulations. All proposals are subject to challenges in the courts.

It is significant that whereas the Court merely enumerates other administrative problems, it deals in some detail with the possible revision of school districts and attendance areas, in effect saying these should be made "into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-racial basis." This would seem to mean that both school officials and the lower courts are warned against attempting the gerrymandering of school districts through use of wandering boundary lines for the purpose of insuring racial schools.

In referring specifically to the revision of local laws and regulations hitherto requiring racial segregation in the schools, it would appear that the Court, not content with repeated citations of the "constitutional principles" involved, or with its declaration that all laws must yield to these principles, has pressed the point once more upon school officials and the lower courts. It says plainly that in solving administrative problems no local law or regulation may bar the transition to a non-segregated school system.

ADEQUACY OF PLANS

Adequacy of plans: "They (the courts) will also consider the adequacy of any plans the defendants may propose to meet the problems and to effectuate a transition to a racially non-discriminatory school system."

After listing administrative problems that may be considered by the courts, the Court includes these and every other item in any plan for transition in this one sentence on adequacy. The test is whether a plan of a given school district satisfies the principle laid down in the May 17, 1954, decision. Here again all such plans are subject to challenge in the courts and the school authorities have the burden of proving adequacy.

Courts retain jurisdiction: "Dur-

ing this period transition, the courts will retain jurisdiction of these cases."

Until the transition is complete the cases remain in the courts, subject at all times to its hearings and judgments on matters raised. No new actions need be commenced and no old ground re-covered in fresh proceedings.

The May 31 opinion, technically, applies only to the cases before the Court, but as a matter of fact the ruling rendered will be the pattern for all such cases as may be brought in the future.

In the overwhelming majority of instances it can be expected that compliance without legal action will be the rule, perhaps grudgingly and reluctantly in some areas, but compliance, nevertheless.

LEGAL WEAPONS IN HAND

Armed with the powers embodied in the language of the Court's opinion, we look confidently toward the future. We stand ready with qualified experts in public education and community organization to cooperate with any and all school boards willing to work toward desegregation.

We always realized that there are those who would defy the ruling and others who would drag their feet no matter what language the Supreme Court used. We now have the weapons to make them accept the highest court's affirmation of true American principles. This we shall do. We shall not rest until we have ended second-class education for all Americans.

DON'T JUST TALK ABOUT RACIAL JUSTICE . . . DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT!

2500 Life Memberships in NAACP are urgently needed to accelerate the Fighting Fund for Freedom campaign so that on the Centennial of Lincoln's Proclamation, January 1, 1963, the Negro will in truth be "forever free." Join today . . . strike a blow for democracy.

INSTALLATION *services of Philadelphia, Pa., branch officers for 1955 were conducted by Rev. Luther Cunningham at the Fellowship Commission Building in February.* BOTTOM: *Some of the 1955 officers and executive committee members of the Columbus, Ohio, branch.*

Statement of NAACP Board of Directors and Officers on Supreme Court Decision Rendered May 31, 1955

WE are gratified that as to the counties and states directly involved in the litigation, today's opinion makes a clear-cut determination that the Negro school children must be given their rights "as soon as practicable on a non-discriminatory basis."

This is followed by language which limits delay to necessary administrative details of adjustment while at the same time making it clear that delay cannot be sanctioned simply because of disagreement with the decision. Today's decision directed lower federal courts to see to it that local school boards "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with last year's historic decision. We see nothing in the language of the opinion which sustains the view of some Southern states that delay in compliance may be of indefinite length.

Other areas of the South not directly involved in this litigation have been given clear notice that "all provisions of federal, state or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle" (of the May 17 decision). By force of this language counties and states which have held up their desegregation programs because of the continued existence of state laws requiring segregated schools are now free to desegregate their schools. We are confident that the affected school districts and others, including whole states which were awaiting this word, will proceed without delay on programs of desegregation. We are equally confident that the whole American people will support this historic decision to open up new avenues of democracy for all the children of our nation.

Our Association and our local chapters stand ready to cooperate with all officials on such programs.

Layne

DR. HAROLD S. FLEMING, *president of New Haven, Conn., branch accepting a life membership payment from Charles A. Hubbard (right), branch secretary, who subscribed to the first life membership in the New Haven area. Looking on are, from left, Winifred Virtue, president Junior Community League, Mrs. James Stanley of the Belle-Tanne Social and Civic Club, and Madison Jones of the national office.* BOTTOM: *The youth and college section of the Eastern Regional Training Conference. William Ewing (standing, right), president Montclair, N. J., youth council is presiding, with field secretary Gertrude Gorman (seated at Mr. Ewing's left) acting as consultant.*

Statement of the Emergency Southwide NAACP Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, June 4, 1955

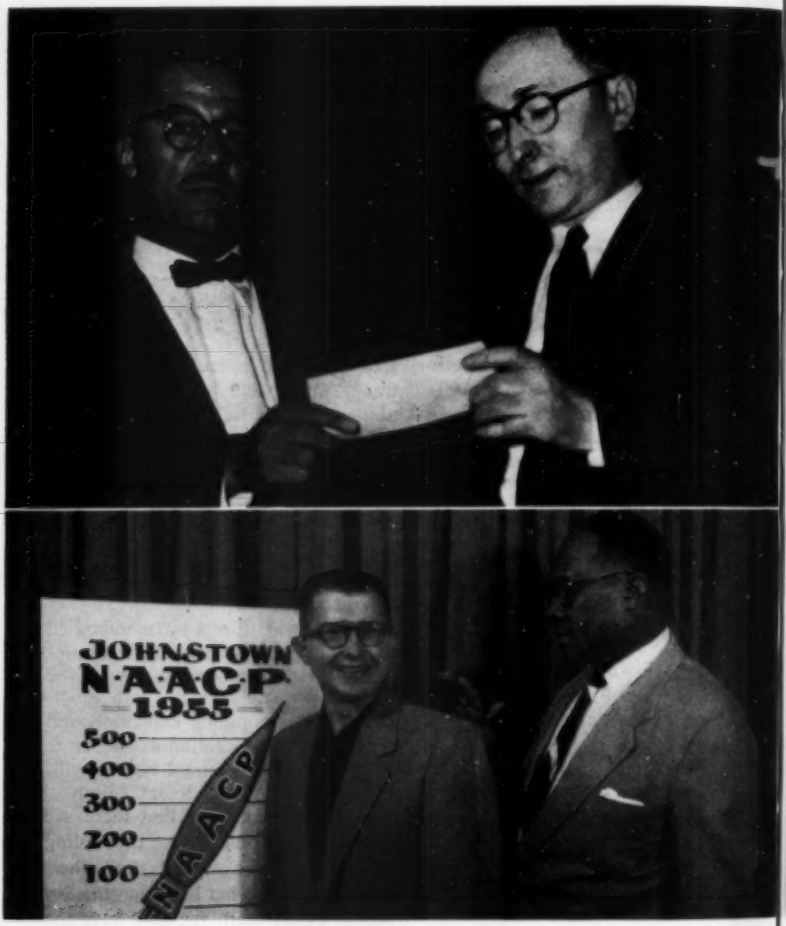
WE the State Conference officials of the NAACP, representing 16 southern states and the District of Columbia have met here today, on June 4, 1955, to map a program of action to make full use of the two historic decisions of the Supreme Court desegregating public schools.

We adopt and approve the staff memorandum interpreting the May 31 decision and we authorize our branches in every state to act to secure desegregation beginning next September, by filing petitions with their school boards requesting the "prompt" beginning set forth in the May 31 opinion. In the absence of any affirmative actions by school boards by the opening of schools in September, 1955, our branches will take whatever action is necessary to get the school board to initiate the process of desegregation. To this end, we are sending the following 8-point directive to all of our branches.

To the recalcitrant states determined to flout the Constitution we say: maintenance of segregated schools is unconstitutional and all state laws and practices to the contrary "must yield" to this principle of desegregation. This is the law of the land which applies to every state, county, city and hamlet. There will be no local option on this. Whenever and wherever a state or county refuses to recognize this principle, our answer will be the same as the legal action begun here in Atlanta on June 3, 1955.

Armed with the powers embodied in the language of the Court's opinion, we look confidently toward the future. We stand ready with qualified experts in public education and community organization to cooperate with any and all school boards willing to work toward desegregation.

We always realized that there are those who would defy the ruling and others who would drag their feet no matter what language the Supreme Court used. We now have the means to assure enforcement of the highest court's affirmation of true American principles. This we shall do. We shall not rest until we have ended second-class education for all Americans.



Hesselbein

IKE SMALLS *of the Des Moines, Iowa, branch presents a life membership check to Madison Jones (left) of the national office during the Walter White memorial services held in April.* BOTTOM: *Frank Davis, chairman of the 1955 membership drive of the Johnstown, Pa., branch receives a congratulatory pat on the back, for conducting a successful campaign, from Saul Griffin. With a goal of 500 members, the branch enrolled 550.*

Directives to the Branches Adopted by Emergency South-wide NAACP Conference

ON May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court in a historic decision outlawed racial segregation in public schools. On May 31, 1955, in another unanimous decision, the Court ordered "good faith compliance" with this decision "at the earliest practicable date" and made the lower federal courts guardians in the enforcement of this order and arbiters as to whether good faith is being practiced by school authorities.

A sampling of sentiment throughout the country indicates a generally favorable reaction to the May 31 decision, with Kentucky, Oklahoma, Maryland, Missouri, Delaware and West Virginia promising full compliance. There will be resistance in the rest of the South in varying degrees, but make no mistake about it, this decision in no way cuts back on the May 17 pronouncement. Indeed, the May 31 decision merely affords to law-abiding public officials an easy method to conform to the Constitution of the United States. The decision places a challenge on the good faith of the public officials, on the militancy of Negroes and on the integrity of the federal courts.

For our part, we must be prepared to meet the challenge in a forthright manner. Our branches must seek to determine in each community whether the school board is prepared to make a prompt and reasonable start towards integration of the public schools and whether it will proceed with good faith towards full compliance with the May 31 decision at the earliest practicable date. Promises unaccompanied by concrete action are meaningless; nor can there be concern with the attitudes of individuals towards a change in the school system. Segregated schools are iilegal, and the Court is merely allowing school boards time to get their houses in order. It does not allow time to procrastinate, stall or evade. It is the job of our branches to see to it that each school board begins to deal with the problem of providing non-discriminatory education. To that end we suggest that each of our branches take the following steps:

1. File at once a petition with

each school board, calling attention to the May 31 decision, requesting that the school board act in accordance with that decision and offering the services of the branch to help the board in solving this problem.

2. Follow up the petition with periodic inquiries of the board seeking to determine what steps it is making to comply with the Supreme Court decision.

3. All during June, July, August and September, and thereafter, through meetings, forums, debates, conferences, etc., use every opportunity to explain what the May 31 decision means, and be sure to emphasize that the ultimate determination as to the length of time it will take for desegregation to become a fact in the community is not in the hands of the politicians or the school board officials but in the hands of the federal courts.

4. Organize the parents in the community so that as many as possible will be familiar with the procedure when and if law suits are begun in behalf of plaintiffs and parents.

5. Seek the support of individuals and community groups, particularly in the white community, through churches, labor organizations, civic organizations and personal contact.

6. When announcement is made of the plans adopted by your school board, get the exact text of the school board's pronouncements and notify the State Conference and the National Office at once so that you will have the benefit of their views as to whether the plan is one which will provide for effective desegregation. It is very important that branches not proceed at this stage without consultation with State offices and the National office.

7. If no plans are announced or no steps towards desegregation taken by the time school begins this fall, 1955, the time for a law suit has arrived. At this stage court action is essential because only in this way does the mandate of the Supreme Court that a prompt and reasonable start towards full compliance become fully operative on the school boards in question.

8. At this stage the matter will be turned over to the Legal Department and it will proceed with the matter in court.

SAMPLE PETITION

We, the undersigned, are the parents of children of school age entitled to attend and attending the public elementary and secondary high schools under your jurisdiction. As you undoubtedly know, the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, ruled that the maintenance of racially segregated public schools is a violation of the Constitution of the United States and on May 31, 1955, reaffirmed that principle and requires "good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date," with the federal courts authorized to determine whether local officials are proceeding in good faith.

We, therefore, call upon you to take immediate steps to reorganize the public schools under your jurisdiction on a non-discriminatory basis. As we understand it, you have the responsibility to reorganize the

(*Continued on page* 381)

Maceo Sheffield

DETROIT CO-ETTES CLUB *takes out life membership in the NAACP. Rikki Stubbs, who was crowned "Miss Co-Ette" at the Club's annual charity ball, presents the Club's $500 check to Detroit, Mich., branch president, Arthur Johnson. Miss Stubbs was also crowned "Miss NAACP" for raising over $500 in Detroit Fight for Freedom Campaign. Looking on, from left, Marilyn Saunders, Club president, and Mrs. Edward Davis, Club sponsor.* BOTTOM: *First life membership in the Los Angeles, Calif., branch was taken out by the Women's Christian Charity Club: Maggie Henderson, NAACP representative; Queenie Odom, secretary; Mattie Smith, president; Carrie Paxton, vice-president; Bertha Haynes, treasurer; and Reveta Fuller, corresponding secretary.*

RALPH J. LOCKWOOD, *past president of the Bridgeport-Stratford, Conn., branch presents first payment on a $500 NAACP life membership to John W. Lancaster (left), executive board chairman. Mr. Lockwood is the second life member in a branch of 700 members.* BOTTOM: *Dr. Carl Murphy, president of the Afro-American Newspapers is shown receiving a $500 life membership plaque from NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall (left) at the 14th annual Maryland State Conference.*

■ **Racial discrimination is just as injurious to those who discriminate as it is to those discriminated against**

Race Supremacy – Curse of the Master Race

By Bernard Mandel

NEGROES and white liberals have long fought for equality of rights and opportunities as a matter of justice to Negroes. But too little attention has been given to the fact that inequality, discrimination and oppression are also unjust and injurious to the priviliged group. Race supremacy is indeed a curse on the so-called 'superior" race as well as on the suppressed race. It is important that this fact be understood, for people are more prone to act from self-interest than from altruism or an abstract sense of justice. They will have a quicker interest in the campaign for full freedom when they recognize that this is not only a campaign to elevate one-tenth of the nation, but to advance the interests of all the people of our country. A few instances in our past and present illustrate these points.

Slavery was an instrument for the oppression not only of the bondsmen, but also of the white wage earners. In the first place, the workers and slaves were competitors in the labor market. Since the number of white laborers was generally small outside a few towns, the price of wage labor was determined by the price of slave labor, which was less than the minimum necessary to maintain the worker and his family (for the slave did not have that responsibility). Cassius M. Clay, a leading Southern abolitionist, aptly compared this situation with the competition offered by convict labor, against which the mechanics had petitioned the legislature of Kentucky, and concluded that only emancipation of the slaves would prevent

[1] Condensation of an address delivered at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, February 16, 1955, in observance of Negro History Week.

DR. BERNARD MANDEL, *author of* Labor: Free and Slave, *teaches in the Cleveland, Ohio, public schools and at Fenn College, Cleveland. He has been an active NAACP member for years.*

them from underbidding the free workingmen.

The laborers also had to produce as much as slaves to hold their own, and consequently had to deliver a long day's labor. The ten-hour movement never achieved the dimensions that it did in the North, and had little possibility of success in those circumstances. When the bricklayers of Louisville were contending for the ten-hour day, they met an insuperable obstacle in the fact that they were replaceable by slaves, so they had to work as many hours as the slaves or abandon their trade. When the carpenters and painters called a strike for shorter hours, it was broken by the employment of slaves on their jobs; some strikers went back to work on the old terms, and others, disgusted and demoralized, emigrated from the state.

Even when they reduced their standards to those of the slaves, the Southern mechanics could not always win jobs from them, and found it increasingly difficult to do so. In the self-sufficient economy of the plantations there was no place for hired labor. General Marion pointed out that "the people of Carolina form two classes—the rich and the poor. The poor are generally very poor, because, *not being necessary to the rich, who have slaves to do all their work*, they get no employment from them."

CHATTEL MECHANICS

This situation was not confined to the plantations but overflowed into the neighboring towns. It was common for the masters to hire out their chattel mechanics when they were not needed on the plantation, and they could afford to do so at very low rates. This practice became a specialized business, as men with capital bought up gangs of slaves and let them out to employers who found it cheaper to job than to buy slaves.

Little wonder that complaints were increasingly voiced against the encroachment of slave labor upon domains that had formerly been reserved to wage earners. A Virginian wrote despairingly that, whereas young men could once find ready employment on the farms, they could no longer secure it at half the wages, because "Slavery is doing the labor on the rich lands of the Valley, and the sturdy young free white man must now learn a trade . . . or leave the country and his friends." In Mississippi it was observed that white mechanics, unable to provide their families with the necessities of life, had to stand by while the available jobs were given to slaves. A Montgomery, Alabama, mechanic commented bitterly on the competition of slave labor, which "hunted the ingenious mechanic from town to town and from shop to shop." He asserted that the mechanics had often held secret meetings to discuss the problem. Some of them even suggested incendiarism and rebellion, which betrayed the "extreme opposition that is now rising in every sensible mechanics mind against the damnable pest which brings poverty to each of their homes."

The unequal competition between slave and free labor not only tended to reduce the material standards of the latter to the level of the former, but, as a result, inevitably degraded it to the same social level. Performing work that was associated with

slavery, on virtually the same terms as the slave, the free man suffered a loss of dignity and respect. Manual labor in itself became a badge of servility, branding its executor with the stain of the auction block and stigmatizing him with the loss of caste. Hinton R. Helper, a Southern poor white, wrote that in the South no kind of labor was either free or respectable, and every workingman was treated like a "loathsome beast, and shunned with the utmost disdain."

The employers, too, tended to look upon the wage earners as their thralls, entitled to no more rights or consideration than their Negro coworkers, and tried to quell their protests as they would those of the slaves. When the white deck hands on the Mississippi steamboats resorted to a strike, the owners got the legislature to outlaw stoppages on the ships and wharves, and the strike leaders were arrested for "tampering" with the crew. Roger Shugg points out that labor, both free and slave, suffered from the feudal outlook of the slaveholders and could not easily organize for self-defense. Consequently, the free workers were in danger of losing their freedom and being pulled into the orbit of slavery.

SADDLED UNDERLINGS

That the slaveowners, born to command and trained to ride their saddled underlings, assumed the usual aristocratic disdain for the "lower order," whether Negro or white, was the most natural thing in the world. One of the favorite expressions of this master-class ideology was the following from the *Richmond Enquirer:* "Free society! We sicken of the name. What is it but a conglomeration of *greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small fisted farmers* and moon struck *theorists?* All the Northern . . . States are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen." Another Southern spokesman declared: "We have got to hating everything with the prefix *free*—from free negroes down and up, through the whole category of abominations, demagogueries, lusts, philosophies, fanaticisms, and follies, free farms, free labor, free n---rs, free society, free will, free thinking, free love, free wives, free children, and free schools, all belonging to the same breed of damnable isms whose mother is Sin and whose daddy in the Devil. . . ."

With such an attitude toward democracy, freedom and the common people, it was natural for the ruling oligarchy of the South to govern, according to its view, by divine right. B. Watkins Leigh stated in the Virginia state convention that those who labored for their daily subsistence "never do, never will, never can" enter into political affairs. Why this must be so was explained by F. W. Pickens of South Carolina in the House of Representatives. He asserted that an elect and chosen few were made the "peculiar receptacles of the favors and blessings of an allwise and all-pervading Providence." All societies were divided into capitalists and laborers, and the former must own the latter, either collectively through the government, as in the North, or individually in a state of servitude, as in the South. "If laborers ever obtain the political power of a country," he concluded, "it is

in fact in a state of revolution, which must end in substantially transferring property to themselves . . . unless those who have it shall appeal to the sword and a standing army to protect it." Edmund Ruffin described the character of the Southern governments even more frankly, stating that they excluded from the suffrage "all of the lowest and most degraded classes, who, *Whether slave or free, white or black* . . . are and must be incapable of understanding or caring to preserve the principles or the benefits of free government."

In order to maintain their rule and suppress opposition, the Southern Bourbons employed a technique in which they have become a world authority: race prejudice. Every effort was bent to prove that there was no conflict between the rich and the poor in Southern society, and that, in fact, there were no class distinctions at all, only those of color. The meanest of the "mean whites" was placed, by virtue of his skin, on a "perfect spirit of equality" with the most genteel of the gentlemen planters. The workers were beguiled by a spurious pride of caste and social status, and in addition frightened by the spectre of race war, Negro supremacy and miscegenation. The "purity" of the races had to be maintained by a strict observance of prescribed relations, and any worker who showed signs of treating a Negro fellow-worker as a human being was likely to be chastised by expulsion of violence.

And it was the very degradation to which slavery consigned him that made the deluded worker susceptible to the ideology of race supremacy. Because he was himself reduced virtually to the status of the slave, he could preserve a modicum of self-respect only by identifying himself in some way with a master class, with whom he could share the "privilege" of lording it over a helpless class of pariahs.

WORKERS BLINDED

Thus, the workers were blinded in order that their conflict with the slaveholder might be diverted and directed against the slaves, while at the same time the slaves were used to keep them in subjugation. Frederick Douglass exposed the significance of this racial prejudice:

> The slaveholders, . . . by encouraging the enmity of the poor, laboring white man against the blacks, succeed in making the said white man almost as much a slave as the black man himself. . . . Both are plundered, and by the same plunderers. The slave is robbed, by his master, of all his earnings, above what is required for his bare physical necessities; and the white man is robbed by the slave system, of the just results of his labor, because he is flung into competition with a class of laborers who work without wages . . . At present, the slaveholders blind them to this competition, by keeping alive their prejudices against the slaves, *as men*—not against them *as slaves*. They appeal to their pride, often denounce emancipation, as tending to place the white working man, on an equality with negroes, and, by this means, they succeed in drawing off the minds of the poor whites from the real fact, that, by the rich slave-master, they are already regarded as but a single remove from equality with the slave.

It was widely believed in the North

that there was a conspiracy on the part of the slaveholders to extend slavery throughout the republic and eventually to enslave even the white workers. It was this thought that inspired Senator Seward's famous reference to the "irrepressible conflict between opposing and endurable forces." He foresaw that the United States must become, sooner or later, either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free labor nation. And it was this fear, engendered by the expansionism of the South, that finally brought the masses of Northern people into the political anti-slavery movement as expressed by the Republican party and its standard-bearer, Abraham Lincoln. They entered into a life-and-death combat with the slave-power because they finally realized that the nation could not remain half slave and half free. To preserve their own freedom, they had to win the freedom of the slaves.

Just as the white workingmen suffered from the competition of slave labor, so they continued to feel the effects of low-paid Negro labor after emancipation. As a result of discrimination by employers and trade unions, inferior educational opportunities and legal proscriptions, Negroes have been confined principally to unskilled jobs, have been denied equal protection by organized labor, and even on the same kinds of jobs as white men have received lower wages. At the present time, the average income of Negro wage earners is less than 60 per cent that of white wage earners. This has produced economic competition which tends to degrade the wages of white labor. It has forced Negroes to become strikebreakers as the only means by which they could gain a foothold in industry. It has divided labor and provided unscrupulous employers with a ready means to exploit both groups.

ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST

These facts were clearly understood by Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor for 37 years. In 1893 he told the blacksmiths' union, which refused to admit Negroes: ". . . The inevitable is presented to you, that either you must make friends of them or if you will not they will prove enemies to you and play into the hands of employers who may always be willing to take advantage of you. If the question were not a humanitarian one, then enlightened self-interest should prompt us all to declare our desire to organize all our fellow-workers instead of discriminating against any who may desire to act fair and manfully." A few years later he explained to his Southern organizer that the unionization of colored workers was a matter of absolute necessity.

> If our fellow white wage workers will not allow the colored workers to co-operate with him, he will necessarily cling to the other hand (that of the employer) who also smites him, but at least recognizes his right to work. If we do not make friends of the colored men they will of necessity be justified in proving themselves our enemies, and they will be utilized upon every occasion to frustrate our every effort for economic, social and political improvement.
>
> . . . I wish the slogan would come forth among the toilers of the South,

working men organize regardless of color. . . .

Unfortunately for both the Negro and white workingmen, Gompers later sacrificed these sound principles and yielded to the narrow and selfish policies of the leaders of the skilled craft unions who desired to eliminate competition by driving Negroes out of industries altogether, and the A.F. of L. settled into a policy of segregation and jim-crowism. But the wisdom of his earlier views is being more widely recognized today. Many unions, particularly the industrial organizations in the mass production industries, seek to organize all workers regardless of race, and organized labor is nearly unanimous in its advocacy of fair employment legislation. It may also be noted that the first Fair Employment Practices Commission was established by President Roosevelt during the war, not as a matter of justice for Negro workers, but because discrimination was hampering the war effort by preventing full mobilization of the nation's manpower. Once again it was a recognition of enlightened self-interest rather than humanitarianism that led to the abandonment of anti-Negro policies.

RECONSTRUCTION POLICIES

During the brief period of Reconstruction following the Civil War, a substantial measure of democracy prevailed in the South for the first time in our history. The Negro people, protected by Federal troops and their own Union Leagues, exercised their right to vote to a degree that has not since been matched. They were elected to political offices, serving as state legislators, executive officials, judges and United States Representatives and Senators. Under these democratic Reconstruction governments, public schools were established for the first time, with equality of admission. Civil rights were secured, fair labor relations were assured, and the landless were given assistance in purchasing homesteads. State and county governments were democratized, taxation was made more equitable, aid was granted for much-needed public improvements. Liberal laws were passed to advance the rights of women; property qualications for voting were abolished; humane laws for the relief of the aged, blind, insane and orphans were passed; jim-crow was prohibited; imprisonment for debt and cruel punishments were abolished. In short, while the rights of the Negroes were protected and expanded, the whole South experienced an upsurge of democratic reform and progress.

But when the Republican party betrayed its Negro allies, the Reconstruction governments were undermined and overthrown, the Negroes were terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan and their recently won rights taken away. The liberal and progressive spirit of that period was crushed and the South settled into the backward condition that has characterized it ever since. When the Negro people were submerged under a blanket of jim-crow laws, discrimination, segregation and violence, the hopes of all the people for a "New South" also died. For those who wanted to see, here was further evidence that the advancement of the interests of the white people is inseparably linked with the protec-

tion of the rights of the Negro people.

In the 1890's there was another upsurge of reform, this time an agrarian movement to curb the power of the monopolies, democratize the governmental machinery of the state and federal governments, and enact measures to aid the farmers by government loans and a more liberal policy in regard to landholding, currency, taxes and banking. This Populist movement was an effort of the small white farmers to free themselves from the rule of the black-belt Democratic party of the old slaveowning type. Inevitably, such a movement was impelled toward an alliance with the Negro farmers who shared their plight, and the Populists met the issue forthrightly. They gave the Negroes a voice in the party, electing them to their councils and choosing them as delegates to national conventions. Their platform denounced lynching and the convict-lease system and called for the defense of the political rights of the Negroes. Tom Watson, one of the leaders of the movement, declared that "the accident of color can make no difference in the interest of farmers, croppers, and laborers. . . . You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings."

NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

The development of Negro-white unity in a campaign to wrest control from the large planters and their business allies struck alarm into the hearts of the Bourbons, who decided that the "time for smooth words has gone by." In order to crush the movement, they instituted a campaign to impose a legal status of inferiority and second-class citizenship on the Negroes. From 1890 to 1910 practically every Southern state enacted laws disfranchising the Negroes and establishing jim-crowism in every aspect of life. It was in these years that lynchings reached a new high, race relations suffered their greatest deterioration and Negro rights reached their lowest ebb. Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina announced the results of this campaign on the floor of the Senate: "We took the government away. We stuffed the ballot boxes. We shot Negroes! We are not ashamed of it."

As a result of this campaign of fraud, violence and anti-Negro propaganda, the Populist movement was divided and defeated, the political life of the South was brought under the complete domination of the white supremacist Democrats, Negro rights were obliterated, and both Negro and white farmers were kept in the yoke of debt peonage, tenancy and poverty. And it was not only the South which suffered from these conditions. The Solid South has consistently sent to Congress such reactionary politicians as Byrnes, Talmadge, Bilbo, Rankin, Long, Russell, Dies, *et al.*, who are elected by about 10 per cent of their constituents. These dixiecrats have been the most persistent opponents of reform legislation, from Wilson's New Freedom to Roosevelt's New Deal to Truman's Fair Deal. Labor laws and social legislation have been delayed, defeated, and hamstrung by men who hold office by virtue of their evasion of the Fourteenth and

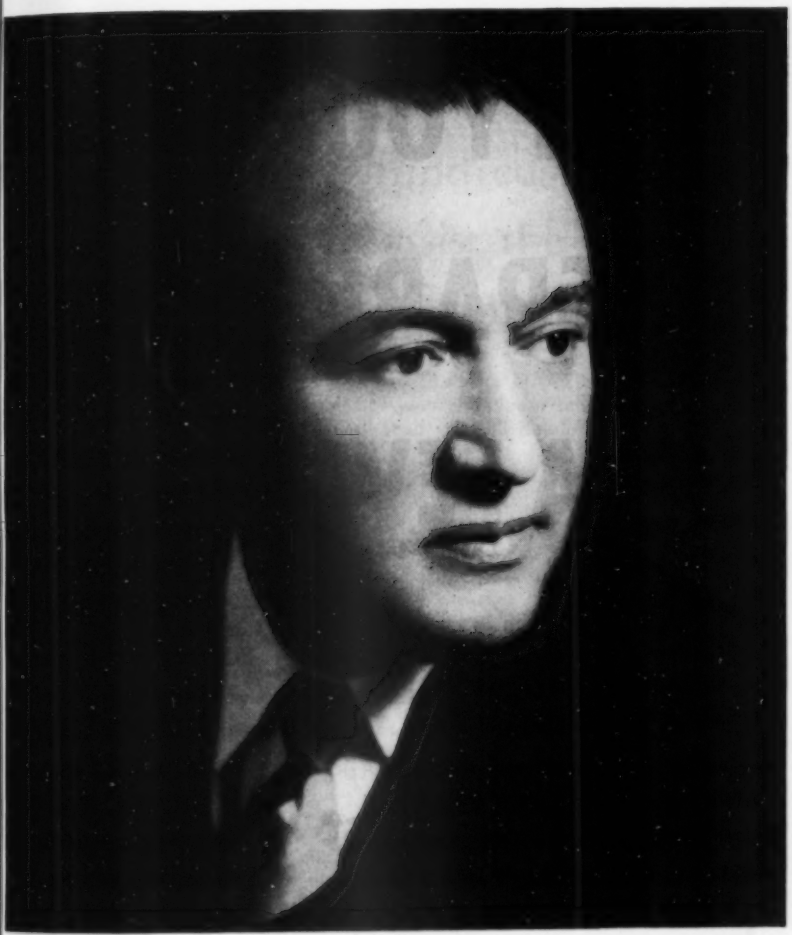
Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. And in their own states they have kept educational standards, child labor regulation and other social reforms far behind the rest of the country.

One of the principal problems of Negroes today is decent housing. As a result of prejudice, organized mob violence, restrictive covenants, discrimination by banks, real estate interests and loan companies, and legal segregation, a large part of the Negro population in every major northern and southern city is confined to slum ghettoes that are a disgrace to the vaunted American way of life. Little wonder that the highest rates of crime and juvenile delinquency are found in these blighted areas, and that they are scenes of almost daily fires in which human sacrifices are offered to greed and avarice. The result is an added burden on the taxpayers for police and fire protection, jails and courts. And who can count the cost to society in children but poorly educated, resentful against a society that has given them little, uninspired by those democratic ideals which we try to teach them in our schools, and deficient in the attributes that make for the highest conception of citizenship?

SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Look at our segregated schools, both North and South. One of the reasons for the general inferiority of public schools in the South is the necessity for wasting school funds to maintain separate schools, teachers, and administrators. Segregated schools have another bad effect on the whites. While they tend to instill into the Negro children a feeling that they are being set apart as inferior, in the same way they imbue the white children with a sense of superiority. This is part of the whole pattern of segregated life in which our children grow up. Until their adulthood, and sometimes later, most Negroes never know any white people except those who exercise authority over them—teachers, policemen, social workers—or who exploit them —landlords, merchants and employers. And most white children never know any Negroes except those whom they see employed as menial workers or those they see in movies, television and literature—and these are generally represented as menials or clowns. How little opportunity they have to understand each other! And how easy it is for white children to acquire, consciously and unconsciously, a feeling that they belong to a privileged caste, a superior group, a master race. This is a subtle, often unrecognized process, but is no less effective for that reason. It takes many forms. It may produce an ignorant unconcern with the problems of race relations, or a more callous disregard of the rights of other races. It may produce the illiberal, racist policies that have been the guiding principles in our immigration laws, which are based on the assumed superiority of the so-called Anglo-Saxon race. It may result in the weakening of democratic sentiments and principles to the extent that a white man may be imprisoned for selling a home to a Negro. Or it may produce the Nazi-

(*Continued on page* 381)



Elson-Alexandre

REV. J. RAYMOND HENDERSON, *pastor of the Second Baptist church of Los Angeles, Calif., who has been given a paid-in-full NAACP life membership by his congregation.*

CAN YOU SPARE A FEW MINUTES

In order that NAACP's Fight for Freedom Crusade achieve its goal: the full emancipation of the Negro by January 1, 1963, nation-wide assistance is needed by individuals who can organize groups of solicitors or act as solicitors themselves. Men and women are needed at once to organize the promotion of NAACP Life Memberships in their social groups, clubs, churches, employee groups, fraternal and political organizations. The spare minutes you spend at this important work can insure the success of this most vital of causes.

for the most vital cause in the modern history of the Negro?

Wanted: hundreds of solicitors to assist the life membership committee

If you can organize a group of solicitors for NAACP Life Memberships or act as a solicitor yourself, please send us your name at once and we will send you full details with our grateful thanks.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN — DR. BENJAMIN MAYS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander	Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Bishop W. Y. Bell	Robert H. Johnson
*Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune	Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin
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Morton S. Grossman	Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Dr. Ralph Harlow	Ike Smalls
Carl Johnson	A. Maceo Smith

Dr. Channing H. Tobias

*Deceased

N.A.A.C.P.

20 West 40th Street

New York 18, N. Y.

☐ I wish to volunteer as an organizer of a group of solicitors for NAACP Life Memberships.

☐ I wish to volunteer as an individual solicitor for NAACP Life Membership.

Name .....

Address .....

City and State .....

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Over 500 Schools Desegregated: Nearly 250,000 Negro and white children as of May were attending classes peaceably together in 500 public elementary and secondary schools which, until last year, had been for the exclusive use of boys and girls of one race or the other.

This introduction of democratic patterns in education is the direct result of the United States Supreme Court's historic anti-segregation decision, the first anniversary of which was celebrated Tuesday, May 17.

In the twelve months since that day, information compiled by the NAACP indicates that school desegregation has been initiated in the District of Columbia and the City of Baltimore, in two towns in Arkansas, 29 counties in West Virginia, 30 communities in Missouri, five towns in Delaware, six cities in Kansas, and scattered communities in Arizona and New Mexico.

For a full year now public school segregation has been formally recognized by the nation's highest tribunal as contrary to our basic law and a denial of "the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." In handing down this decision, the nine justices of the Court unanimously concluded "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." Further, they asserted: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" BANNED

This decision laid bare the obsolete doctrine of "separate but equal" which has shaped racial patterns in the South since 1896 when the Supreme Court, over the prophetic dissent of Justice John Marshall Harlan, created this legal fiction. "The Constitution is color blind," Justice Harlan then maintained. Fifty-eight years later, on May 17 last, the Court unanimously affirmed this minority dissent.

The Court, however, refrained from handing down decrees ordering state and local authorities to proceed forthwith to desegregate the schools. "Because these are class actions, because of wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formula-

Layne

CONGRATULATED—*Roy Wilkins (second from right) is congratulated just after he receives appointment (April 11, 1955) as NAACP executive secretary, succeeding Walter White. From left, A. Maceo Smith, Dallas, Texas, member of the NAACP board of directors; Mrs. Wilkins; Mr. Wilkins; and Theodore Berry, member of NAACP board and Cincinnati, Ohio, city council.*

tion of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity," the Court asserted. Accordingly, the justices asked for further argument to determine how and within what time limits public school segregation was to be ended.

Argument was heard in Washington, April 11-14, with Thurgood Marshall and his associates contending for a deadline of September, 1955, to implement the Court's May 17 ruling. The NAACP lawyers urged the Court to set September, 1956, "as the outside date by which desegregation must be accomplished."

Attorneys for the segregation states urged that no deadline be set

and that the Federal District courts be authorized to settle the issue in the light of local conditions. The United States government, through Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff, agreed with the southerners that the cases should be sent back to the lower courts without specified deadline. The Solicitor General's plan would require local authorities to submit to the district court within 90 days a plan to end segregation "as soon as possible." If no plan were submitted the district court then would be empowered to issue "appropriate orders" stipulating desegregation by the beginning of the next school term.

Delaney

THE CENTRAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY *of Tampa, Florida, takes the lead by paying cash for an NAACP life membership. This company boasts of a long record in its participation in movements to better conditions for Negroes. Shown presenting the $500 check to Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southwest regional director, is Edward Davis, company public relations director, while Dr. von Mizell, NAACP state treasurer, and Atty. William Fordham (right), NAACP state conference president, look on.*

VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION

Meanwhile, in the 12 months since the original Supreme Court decision and in the absence of formal decrees ending segregation, what did happen? Although the Court branded public school segregation unconstitutional, it did not at that time direct any school system to desegregate. John M. Dalton, attorney general of the State of Missouri, indicated local school boards were free to desegregate immediately, but were not required to do so until the Supreme Court formulated its decrees. Thus any immediate steps to desegregate were voluntary. NAACP lawyers maintain that any school board may proceed to integrate its schools, state constiutions and statutes providing for segregation notwithstanding.

Attending the newly desegregated schools are an estimated 250,000 Negro and white children. Admittedly, this is only a tiny minority of the 9,821,000 white and 2,397,000 Negro children enrolled in schools in the segregated areas. Except in Washington, Negro boys and girls are in the minority in most of the schools of mixed attendance.

Included in the 500 desegregated schools are those located in four of the six communities involved in cases ruled on by the Supreme Court. Following the decision, Washington, D. C., initiated desegregation. Earlier the Topeka, Kansas, school board voted "to terminate segregation in the elementary schools as rapidly as practicable." The two school districts in the Delaware case already had admitted Negro pupils in compliance with a state supreme court ruling. Only Clarendon county, South Carolina, and Prince Edward county, Virginia, have refused to heed the Court's decision.

PEACEFUL TRANSITION

The extent to which successful integration has been ignored in the press of the nation is something of a journalistic scandal. The inspired strikes, the demonstrations of resistance of White Sulphur Springs, West Va., Milford, Del., Baltimore and Washington have been widely publicized. However, for every Milford incident, there have been scores of unheralded instances of Negro children being welcomed by their new white schoolmates and teachers. Indeed, this has been the rule; the hate demonstrations, the exception.

Addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors last month, Charles A. McKnight, former editor of the Charlotte (N.C.) *News*, now, director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, charged that there has been a "minimum of coverage" of the "quiet, constructive and unspectacular" progress in school integration.

"Desegregation more often than not has been accomplished in the past year directly and without incident," he told the nation's leading editors. Further, he said, "more often than not southern political leaders have not accurately reflected the views of many responsible southerners. Yet the total picture which has emerged from the press coverage of this story in the past year, in my opinion, is precisely the opposite—that is, desegregation

is usually accompanied by turmoil and near violence."

The real story has been obscured, as Mr. McKnight pointed out to his fellow editors. The children, the teachers and the school authorities in a hundred localities have demonstrated that children of different races can play together and attend classes together without friction. Even the widely publicized demonstrations in Baltimore and Washington never involved more than a small minority of the total student bodies.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Although private schools are not subject to the Supreme Court ruling of May 17, many parochial schools, particularly those of the Roman Catholic Church, have not only complied with, but have, in many instances, anticipated the Court's ruling. Thus the Catholic schools of Washington and St. Louis let down the color bar fully four years before the May 17 decision.

Following the decision, several Catholic dioceses in the Deep South instituted steps to integrate the church schools. In Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas, in Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina and elsewhere in the region of segregation, Catholic schools, and occasionally Protestant schools, opened their doors to students without regard to race or color.

Initial resistance by parents to the integration of parochial schools in St. Louis was promptly squelched by Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter who warned that race prejudice is a sin and threatened excommunication of church members who participated in action to prevent desegregation. Elsewhere the church was unopposed in school desegregation.

UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGES

Although the color bar in professional and graduate school training had been breached by the Sweatt and McLaurin decisions of 1950, most of the southern universities bar Negro undergraduates and universities in five of the southern states still refuse to admit Negro students to any courses with white students.

After May 17, West Virginia opened its 11 state intitutions of higher learning, including two for Negroes, to all qualified students irrespective of race. Interestingly, the number of white students attracted to the two formerly-all-Negro colleges exceeded the number of Negro students attracted to the nine previously lily-white colleges. White students enrolled in the state colleges at Bluefield and at Institute are a sizeable minority.

The University of Maryland opened all its schools to Negro applicants, as did the state supported colleges of Missouri. The University of Delaware and the University of Louisville had previously let down their barriers against Negro undergraduates. A number of denominational colleges in the South likewise began admitting Negro students. Among these were Berea College in Kentucky whose original policy of co-education of the races was discontinued in compliance with state law.

NEGRO TEACHERS

What has actually happened to Negro teachers in communities which have already desegregated in compliance with the May 17 ruling of the United States Supreme Court? Are there fewer Negro teachers now than before? Are they doomed to extinction by the Court's decision? Or will they be integrated along with their pupils?

Although the NAACP survey is incomplete, there is sufficient evidence to indicate trends. Of the hundreds of Negro teachers employed in localities which have desegregated, the NAACP has authentic information involving the dismissal of only 26 as a result of desegregation. The survey indicates further that there has been no loss of employment by Negro teachers in any of the larger cities such as Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., or Wilmington, Del. Also, that there is a large number of white teachers instructing mixed classes for the first time and a smaller, although significant, number of colored men and women who, for the first time, are teaching children of both races.

In Washington, where teachers had been as rigidly segregated as students, the school year opened with mixed faculties in 37 of the District's 158 public schools. Some 250 new teachers were appointed and assigned to schools without regard to race. Of the total of 3,620 public school teachers, elementary and secondary, in the District, 1,948 are Negro and the remaining 1,677 white.

Baltimore approached the problem of teacher integration with caution. Back in July, it appeared there was going to be no realignment of teaching staff and, as many of the schools would remain racially homeogeneous, this would mean that Negro teachers would be confined to all-Negro schools. By the time the schools opened there was a slight relaxation of this policy. New vacancies were filled without regard to race. Two Negro teachers were assigned to teach mathematics in a practically solid white junior high school. A third colored person became teacher of French at another perdominantly white school. A few others were assigned to mixed classes.

Because of overcrowding in the Negro high schools there was a surplus of Negro teachers when the secondary schools in St. Louis were integrated on January 31 of this year. These teachers, in accordance with policy and tenure, were assigned to the newly mixed schools where they teach students of both races. The vast majority of the colored teachers remain at the two high schools which, because of residential segregation, remained all-Negro. But at least nine Negro teachers were transferred to mixed schools.

In Wilmington, six Negro teachers are now serving on faculties of schools which formerly were lilywhite. One white teacher has been assigned to a previously all-Negro school. In Kansas City, Mo., there are 15 Negroes on the 50-member faculty of the integrated Manual High School. These were transferred from the Negro trades school when Manual was opened to Negro students. They are vocational teachers, Negro academic teachers being retained at the old Negro school.

Layne

FELICITATED—*Roy Wilkins (center) receives the felicitations of NAACP board members just after the board appointed him NAACP executive secretary. From left, Hon. Hubert Delany, judge of New York City Domestic Relations Court; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, vice-president Pittsburgh* Courier; *Mr. Wilkins; Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president Pittsburgh* Courier; *and Judge Theodore Spaulding, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Cities throughout the State of Kansas have proceeded with pupil integration. Although there has been no indication of a loss of Negro teachers, integration of faculties has been rare. Lawrence appointed a young Negro supervisor of physical education for the city's entire elementary school system. In Atchison, one Negro teacher was assigned to an all-white sixth grade class. The superintendent plans integration of the remaining teachers by September, 1955. The Kansas City superintendent of education announced his intention to retain all of the system's 175 Negro teachers. Only in Leavenworth was there grim determination not to integrate. Said the superintendent: "I couldn't keep the peace even in Leavenworth" if he integrated the Negro teachers.

From Missouri, the NAACP has received information that 26 Negro teachers have been notified that their contracts are not to be renewed for the next school year. Twelve of these have been teaching in Moberly, 11 in Saline county, and three in Hannibal. In the state generally colored teachers are being restricted to teaching Negro youth.

Outside of Kansas City and St. Louis the only notable instance of faculty integration has been Springfield. At the beginning of the school year, a teacher was shifted from the all-Negro high school to become librarian at the former lilywhite high school, which had meanwhile been integrated. The superintendent announced plans to close the Negro school next year and to use the 16 teachers in the integrated school system.

West Virginia's superintendent of schools, W. W. Trent, reports that 15 Negro and 897 white teachers are now giving instructions to school children of both races in the same classrooms for the first time.

MRS. LEOLA NIXON *of Orlando, Florida, unveils plaque at NAACP in New York with names of 55 chapters of the Links, Inc., which have taken out NAACP life memberships. Mrs. Nixon is program chairman of the Links, national women's organization.*

Investors in Freedom

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM BRANCHES TOWARDS "FIGHTING FUND FOR FREEDOM" FOR THE MONTHS OF APRIL, MAY, AND JUNE, 1955

ALABAMA

Fayette	50.00

ALASKA

Kodiak	25.00

ARIZONA

Tucson	200.00

CALIFORNIA

Alameda	58.87
Bakersfield	200.00
Long Beach	17.00
Madera	20.00
Merced	66.10
Modesto	25.00
Monrovia	25.00
Onard	150.00
Palm Springs	160.00
Pittsburg	54.00
Pomona Valley	17.50
Redwood City	55.30
Richmond	13.89
Riverside	21.64
Sacramento	512.00
San Francisco	103.88
San Pedro	10.00
Santa Barbara	10.00
Santa Monica	150.00
Stockton	50.00
Tulare	50.00
Vallejo	177.60
Weed	43.00

COLORADO

Colorado Springs	50.00

CONNECTICUT

Ansonia	83.00
Bridgeport	209.00
Greenwich	300.00
Meriden	25.00
Waterbury	125.00

DELAWARE

Newark	25.00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	633.67

FLORIDA

State Conference	5.00
Bay County (Panama City)	32.48
Deerfield Beach	44.00
Ft. Lauderdale	100.00
Gulf County (Port St. Joe)	5.00
Homestead	15.00
Jefferson Co. (Monticello)	30.00
Madison County	75.00
St. Petersburg	10.00
Sarasota	25.00
Suwanee County (Liveoak)	5.00
Tallahassee	5.00

Tampa	35.00
West Palm Beach	38.00

ILLINOIS

Cairo	55.00
Centralia	25.00
Chicago Heights	147.85
Edwardsville	50.00
Rockford	20.00

INDIANA

Gary	25.00

IOWA

Burlington	25.00
Des Moines	100.00

KANSAS

Arkansas City	11.30
Crawford Co. (Pittsburg)	13.45
Independence	10.00
Ottawa	25.00
Salinas	65.00

KENTUCKY

Adair County (Columbia)	10.00

LOUISIANA

Allen Parish (Oakdale)	75.00
DeSoto Parish (Mansfield)	7.00
Colfax	10.00
Hammond	50.00
Kenner	40.00
Lake Charles	500.00
Natchitoches	75.00
New Orleans	45.00
St. Charles Parish (Norco)	50.00
St. John's Parish (Reserve)	10.00
Shreveport	75.00
Winnifield Parish	50.00

MICHIGAN

Mt. Clemens (Macomb Co.)	150.00
Muskegon	32.40
Port Huron	50.00

MINNESOTA

State Conference	100.00
Minneapolis	94.00
St. Paul	100.00

MISSISSIPPI

Clark County	5.00
Lawrence Co. (Silver Creek)	5.00
McComb	150.00
Meridian	108.00
Walthall Co. (Tylertown)	60.00
Yazoo City	40.00

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	25.00
Mexico	21.00

NEBRASKA

Omaha	73.00

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	89.50
Cumberland Co. (Bridgeton)	25.00
Jersey City	50.00
Trenton	11.00

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	161.35
Chaves County (Roswell)	50.63
Dona Ana County	37.26
Gallup	15.00

NEW YORK

Elmira	200.00

Flushing	75.00
Mt. Vernon	25.00

NORTH CAROLINA

Bertie County (Windsor)	100.00
Davidson Co. (Lexington)	5.00
Fayetteville	100.00
Rutherford Co. (Union Mills)	31.00
Yadkin Co. (Yadkinville)	17.00

OHIO

Cincinnati	85.00
Hillsboro	11.60
Kent	11.00
Newark	119.00
Springfield	25.00

OKLAHOMA

Ardmore	10.00
Perry	40.00
Wewoka	10.00

PENNSYLVANIA

Blair County (Hollidaysburg)	12.60
Clairton	50.00
Darby (Eastern Delaware Co.)	50.00
Dauphin Co. (Harrisburg)	175.00
Johnstown	125.11

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson	150.00
Hardeeville	50.00
Newberry	50.00

TEXAS

State Conference	500.00
Baytown (McNair)	5.00
Brazos County (Bryan)	49.40
Fort Worth	100.00
Hardin County (Liberty)	15.00
Henderson	75.00
Rusk County	15.00
Tyler	75.00

UTAH

Ogden	62.00

VIRGINIA

Accomac County	150.00
East Southampton Co.	20.00
Franklin County	50.00
Rockbridge Co. (Lexington)	25.00
South Norfolk County	36.03

WASHINGTON

Tacoma	28.00

WEST VIRGINIA

Kimball	100.00
Martinsburg	25.00
Parkersburg	30.00

WISCONSIN

Kenosha	250.00
Milwaukee	98.00

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM BRANCHES TOWARDS "FIGHTING FUND FOR FREEDOM" FOR THE MONTH OF JUNE

ALABAMA

Brewton	12.97
Brundidge	25.00

FLORIDA

Homestead	25.00

INDIANA

Tri-County	25.00

MARYLAND

Wicomico County	15.00
Worcester County	50.00

MASSACHUSETTS

New Bedford	25.00

MICHIGAN

Three Rivers	25.00

OHIO

Cleveland	40.75

OKLAHOMA

Muskogee	25.00

SOUTH CAROLINA

Florence	37.00

TEXAS

Terrell	5.00

WEST VIRGINIA

Montgomery	16.89

WISCONSIN

Madison	220.99

ROBERT T. FREEMAN DENTAL SOCIETY *of Washington, D. C., makes $100 initial payment, through its president, Dr. William Collins (center), on NAACP life membership. Field secretary Mildred Bond receives check while Dr. E. Edwards, treasurer, looks on.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: The BRUNDIDGE branch celebrated NAACP Day on March 27 with special exercises held at the County Line Baptist Church. Rev. G. O. Baxter of Troy was the guest speaker.

Arizona: The first executive board meeting of the SOUTHWEST AREA CONFERENCE was held in the Phoenix YMCA in North First Avenue on June 4.

California: A hearing in May before the Board of Permit Appeals brought to the public's attention the job discrimination of the SAN FRANCISCO Yellow Cab Company in its refusal to hire Negroes.

The El Centro school segregation suit, filed last February by NAACP lawyers, was sent to the state courts in May by federal judge Peirson Hall, who ruled that the Negro families involved, and the local school officials, must first seek remedy at that level.

In his address to a crowd of more than 12,000 people gathered in the Oakland arena on May 22, special counsel Thurgood Marshall said that "the big fight is ahead of us . . . and time is too short for us to slow down simply because the Supreme Court has outlawed school segregation. . . . We may have to take school district by school district to court in the South in order to implement integration."

Mr. Marshall also pointed up housing segregation and exclusion as the basis of school segregation both in the North and in the South. He said that the NAACP is already attacking this problem in public and private housing, but that the latter presents the most difficult legal obstacles of the two.

Franklin Williams, regional secretary-counsel, addressed two STANFORD UNIVERSITY graduate groups in May. On May 27, Mr. Williams spoke to the university Educational Council at the Chez Yvonne, tracing the NAACP's fight for equality in education. On May 28, he spoke at the Old Plantation Restaurant to an audience composed of members of Pi Sigma Alpha, an honorary society in the field of political science, composed of students and faculty members, on the topic, "The Struggle for Equality."

Delaware: A hearing was held recently at the current session of the state legislature on H. B. 185 (FEPC). This bill was introduced, with another on civil rights, by WILMINGTON branch executive committee member, Rep. Paul Livingston. The following spoke on behalf of H. B. 185: Hamilton Ware, chairman branch legislative committee; Harold Lett, assistant New Jersey Division Against Discrimination; Frank Loescher, consultant on intergroup relations to the Fund for the Republic; and Wagner D. Jackson, branch president.

Illinois: NAACP leaders in this state directly blame Governor William G. Stratton for the failure of H. B. 27 (FEPC) to pass the industrial affairs committee of the state senate. The committee, at a hearing on June 15, voted 8 to 5 to table the bill. Unless this

action is reversed by the entire senate the bill is killed for this session. The bill had previously passed the house by a vote of 80 to 35.

Both the CHICAGO branch and the Illinois State Conference mobilized support for the passage of legislation to ban discrimination in hospitals in the state. Senate bill 106 would deny tax exemption to any private hospital that refuses admission, treatment or use of facilities because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. It also provides for penalties for violation.

Mrs. A. R. Eveloff of the SPRINGFIELD branch sends us an open letter addressed to Mayor Nelson Howarth of Springfield written by Mrs Olive Lindsay Wakefield, sister of the late Vachel Lindsay. Mrs. Wakefield's letter was in protest against the curtailment of playground and recreational activities at the Douglass Community Center.

We quote the following paragraph:

"Until we have completely set the Negro free, until we have given them equal rights to a fair and rigid trial befor the law, the equal chance in both the Labor world and the world of Capital, until we have done our best to encourage their leaders to make them clean voters and decent citizens, we are disloyal to Lincoln and worse."

Kansas: The state conference of branches held a board and mass meeting in MANHATTAN on February 27. This was one of the best meetings ever held by this conference.

In WICHITA the branch has been very active in the school integration fight, securing 100 percent integration of teachers and pupils in the William C. Little Elementary School.

As result of a complaint filed with Government Contracts Compliance in Washington against the Coleman Lamp Company, this corporation now employs five Negroes.

The branch also brought suit against the Evans Charles dance studio for refusing to give a Negro girl lessons.

Massachusetts: The life membership committee of the BOSTON branch held a half-hour panel program over WEZ-TV on June 19. Participating on the program were Dr. Olivia Stokes, director of religious education for the Massachusetts Council of Churches; Kivie Kaplan, national chairman of the NAACP life membership committee; Mrs. Katherine Coleman, his executive assistant and secretary of the Robert Gould Shaw House; and Atty. Elwood McKenney, vice-chairman of the life membership committee.

John T. Lane, prominent Boston attorney and clerk of the Juvenile Court of Boston for the past twenty-two years, is an active member of the local branch as chairman of its life membership committee. He has planned a series of programs designed to increase interest in life memberships and to inspire good public relations. One of these programs was held at the Boston City Club by his sub-committee consultant on church and religious organizations, Dr. Olivia Stokes, at which Dr. Benjamin Mays, co-chairman of the life membership committee, with Kivie Kaplan, was the principal speaker.

Minnesota: The May meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch included a combined celebration of the Minnesota FEPC victory and the Supreme Court school decision of May 17, 1954, together with an informal social hour.

The Midwest Regional Conference, Region IV, held its annual meeting in Minneapolis April 15-17 with a roster of distinguised speakers and consultants.

The conference adopted the following resolution dedicated to the memory of George W. Dozier, after whom a memorial fund has been named to be used in the fight for freedom campaign:

To the Memory of GEORGE W. DOZIER. Died September 26, 1954.

Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God to call to the larger life his faithful

servant George W. Dozier, who served for many years as president of the Duluth branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and was one of the founders of the Minnesota State Confernce, and served until his passing as one of its vice-presidents;

Be it resolved that this Conference now assembled in its fifth convention do make public acknowledgment of the courageous and faithful service of this noble warrior in the work of the branch and of the State Conference;

Be it further resolved that we commend his work to his city, state, and nation, not merely as work for this organization, but as an outstanding contributtion to the life and genius of American democracy;

Be it further resolved that this Conference go on record as desiring, with the help of the people of his community and state, to perpetuate his memory by a fitting memorial, designed to inspire the young men and women of the days to come to like noble and sacrificial living in the interest of American democracy;

Be it further resolved that we tender our respects to his faithful wife and coworkers, trusting that in the years to come she will be sustained and cheered by the realization that with her help her beloved was able to make a positive contribution to the onward march of American democracy and the bringing of the kingdom of God nearer to the hearts and lives of men and women.

Unanimously adopted, November 13, Fifth Annual Convention, Minnesota 1955, at Duluth, Minnesota, by the State Conference of Branches, NAACP.

Missouri: Two members of the Missouri House of Representatives were cited in May by the STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES in recognition of their "promotion of the public welfare, beyond the duties of their office, and for their contributions to the "development of improved human relations in the State of Missouri."

Representatives James McKinley Neal of Jackson county and A. Clifford Jones of St. Louis county were the two men cited.

Mary Lucille McElroy is this year's winner of the C. W. Carter Memorial Scholarship of $100 awarded by the HANNIBAL branch to the highest ranking student graduating from the Douglas high school. Throughout her high-school career, which she is completing at the age of 16, Miss McElroy was a member of the high-school chorus and played clarinet in the band. She will continue her education at Lincoln university (Mo.), where she plans to major in speech and minor in music.

The ST. LOUIS branch presented a cash token to Mrs. Iretha Glasby, president of the Mound City Pharmaceutical Auxiliary, in recognition of her reporting of the largest amount of money, over $50, ever reported by an organization. The award was made at the second annual city-wide NAACP tea held on April 3.

New Jersey: For the first time in the history of Jersey City, a Debutantes Cotillion was given by the JERSEY CITY branch on June 4 at the Jersey City Jewish Community Center. Purpose of the affair was to raise money for the NAACP fight for freedom campaign.

New York: The BROOKLYN branch held a public meeting for all members on June 2.

Executive secretary Roy Wilkins was principal speaker at the June 8 meeting of the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch. On May 17, Mr. Wilkins was speaker at a public meeting of the STATEN ISLAND branch, at which time he discussed the implications of the Supreme Court school decisions.

Oregon: The PORTLAND branch conducted a successful membership

drive April 1-June 1, with a membership goal of 1,000 members.

Pennsylvania: Memorial services commemorating the late Walter White were sponsored in May by the PHILADELPHIA branch, with Judge William H. Hastie as principal speaker. At a luncheon meeting sponsored by the local branch in the Central YMCA, Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, professor of English at Howard, declared that school boards are "morally obligated to take the initiative in desegregating public schools.

The local branch is also trying to get the Philadelphia Board of Education to issue a "clear-cut" interpretation of its policy on integration, since at least one-fourth of the Philadelphia public schools are to some extent segregated.

The Pennsylvania Conference, at a meeting of the board in JOHNSTOWN on June 5, adopted a resolution supporting the present state bill for an FEPC law.

Judge Hubert Delany of New York City told the annual charter night banquet of the EASTON branch that the fight against segregation in the United States is a "continuing war" which must be waged until complete integration is won. Mrs. Nora Washington, president of the Easton branch, gave the annual president's address.

Rhode Island: The seventeenth annual session of the New England Regional Conference was held at PROVIDENCE, April 16-17, with all activities centered around the conference theme of "Democracy Through Integration." Highlight of the two-day meeting was the public session held Sunday afternoon at the Plantations Auditorium when a huge audience heard special counsel Thurgood Marshall discuss segregation, discrimination and the Supreme Court.

Texas: The area workshop for NAACP branches in southeast Texas, Area 6, sponsored by the Texas State Conference, brought in two life members: A. L. Price and Lessie Mae Fontnot, both of Beaumont. Both have made initial payments of $50 on their life memberships.

Virginia: The CHARLOTTESVILLE branch concluded its annual membership drive on March 30 with the presentation of NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. Winners in the membership campaign were Gertrude Keys and Mrs. Thelma Townsend, who were given a flight to New York and a subsequent tour of the city as well as cash prizes of $35 each. Over 1,100 memberships were brought in during the drive, which exceeded the assigned quota by 100.

Pupils of the 5L and 5H grades of the RICHMOND Albert V. Norrell elementary school combined their talents in an impressive memorial service on March 24 honoring the late Walter White, NAACP executive secretary.

An outgrowth of the service was a request by the pupils for PTA sponsorship of the first Walter White Junior NAACP Chapter in the nation, the objective being to perpetuate the memory of Walter White and to assist in completion of the unfinished tasks of the NAACP by subscribing to a life membership in the Association.

Dr. W. R. Brown, ex-president of the SALEM branch has been elected, along with three other Negro doctors, to membership in the Roanoke Academy of Medicine. They are the first Negro doctors to be eleected to membership.

Wisconsin: May 17 was celebrated by the MILWAUKEE branch as "Decision Day," the first anniversary of the Supreme Court decision declaring public school segregation unconstitutional.

College and School News

Senator Earle C. Clements has appointed a 17-year-old Louisville, Kentucky, Negro to be a cadet at the United States Military Academy. He is Julius Elliott Price, the first Kentucky Negro appointed to West Point by a Kentucky member of Congress.

■

Obadiah Williamson, a sophomore in the college of arts and sciences at OBERLIN COLLEGE has been elected to the Student Council to serve during the 1955-56 academic year.

■

AMHERST COLLEGE awarded the honorary degree of Sc. D. to Dr. W. Montague Cobb (Amherst '25) at its 134th commencement exercises for his work in science and for his fight "for the cause of interracial justice and understanding."

■

The Honorable William Henry Hastie, Justice of the third United States circuit court of appeals, delivered the Fifth Annual Louis Dembitz Memorial Lecture at BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY (Waltham, Massachusetts) on May 17. Previous lecturers have been U. S. Supreme Court Associate Justices Felix Frankfurter and William O. Douglas; Irving Dilliard of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch; and the honorable Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., U. S. district judge for Masschusetts. The annual Louis Dembitz Memorial lecture series was established in commemoration of the birthday of the late Justice Brandeis, for whom the university has been named.

■

Eric Godwin Kwami Adjorlolo of the Gold Coast, West Africa, received his Master of Science degree from the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY graduate school of journalism on June 1. Mr. Adjorlolo plans to enter the publishing business at Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast.

■

SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE has established a $5,000 scholarship for use in financing the education of students concerned with the problems of community tensions and discrimination. The fund will be called the Clara and Ludwig Guzendorfer Scholarship Fund.

■

Dr. Naomi J. Townsend, head of the English department at TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, was awarded her Ph.D. this spring by the University of Pittsburgh.

■

James William Dabnet, 1950 graduate of CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE, was a member of the Polio Research team of scientists working with Dr. Jonas Salk at the University of Pittsburgh.

Central State awarded an honorary LL.D. to The Honorable Charles H.

Mahoney, United States delegate to the United Nations. He was the college commencement speaker.

■

Dr. Samuel DeWitt Proctor, dean of the school of religion and vice-president of VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY, was named president of the university by the board of trustees during their annual meeting on May 11.

■

Dr. Proctor holds the B.A. degree from Virginia Union, the B.D. from Grozer Theology Seminary, and the Th.D. from Boston university. He has also studied in the graduate schools of the University of Pennsylvania and Yale.

■

Twenty-seven Negroes have been awarded Opportunity Fellowships for 1955, the JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION announced on June 13. This year the Foundation has awarded fellowships to fifty-one persons in twenty states, Puerto Rico, and three territories. These awards are granted to young men and women who show exceptional promise and who have been prevented by race, cultural background, or region of residence from fully developing their potentialities.

■

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, HUNTER COLLEGE instructor, has received a fellowship grant to travel in North Africa and the Middle East.

■

The permanent funds of BARBER-SCOTIA COLLEGE has been increased

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from $850,000 to $1,500,000, according to an announcement of President L. S. Cozart.

■

The Experiment in International Living, Putney, Vermont has awarded Jeannette Reynolds of CLARK COLLEGE a scholarship for travel and study in Europe.

■

Ninety-two students were graduated at the 87th commencement at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY: twenty-five received the B.Sc., and sixty-five the B.A. degree. Two received the B.D. degree. Dr. Donald Spencer, minister of the Second Presbyterian church, Chattanooga, was the commencement speaker.

■

The Twelfth Annual Institute of Race Relations was held at FISK UNIVERSITY June 27-July 9, with a distinguished list of lecturers and consultants in attendance.

Dr. Nelson Fuson, chairman of the university department of physics, is spending a two-month study trip in England and France.

F. Bertram Briess, noted voice therapist, opera singer and professor of voice at Fisk, has been given a grant by the U. S. Department of Public Health for extensive study and lectures on voice therapy and defects of the larynx.

Fisk president Dr. Charles S. Johnson has announced the vote of the Fisk General Alumni Association to join Dr. Jerome S. Davis, former Yale faculty member, in founding a national award in honor of his father, Jerome Dean Davis. To be called

"The Fisk Distinguished Service Award," the honor will be given annually to "the Negro in the United States who, in the opinion of the judges, has done the most outstanding service in the fields of race relations, civil liberties or economic justice."

■

Dr. Modie D. Taylor, associate professor of chemistry at HOWARD UNIVERSITY, has been awarded the J. Ernest Fellowship of $2,500 by the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity. The fellowship named after Assistant Secretary of Labor J. Ernest Wilkins, is offered annually for post-doctoral study.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) was host in May to a conference on public administration participated in by civil service administrators and executves on federal, state, and municipal levels.

■

The 78th annual commencement exercises were held at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE on May 31, with Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund as principal speaker.

■

When MORGAN STATE COLLEGE students ended their eight weeks of door-to-door soliciting in out-of-class hours, they reported 933 memberships and $1,774.27 in the spring membership drive they conducted for the Baltimore branch of the NAACP. The campaign was conducted as a class project in salesmanship.

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time, a summer course for high school graduates. The course is titled "How to Succeed in College" and will run for six weeks.

■

In June the Shrine Tuberculosis and Cancer Research Foundation made an award of $3600 to the TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE CARVER FOUNATION.

According to its annual report 1952-1953, the Foundation awarded four full-year and six partial-year fellowships (totaling $8200) during the academic year 1952-1953.

■

TWO DILLARD UNIVERSITY faculty members have been awarded fellowships for study next year. Jesse L. Parks II, assistant professor of physical education, was awarded a fellowship by the Danforth Foundation of St. Louis, Missouri, and will study towards his doctorate at the University of Michigan. Dr. Irwin Swerdlow, professor of English, received a fellowship from the Fund for the Advancement of Education of New York City, and will study at the University of California at Berkley in the Humanitities.

■

ALBANY STATE COLLEGE reports approximately eighty-eight candidates for certificates and degrees at its commencement exercises held on June 6, with T. M. Alexander, president of Alexander and Company, Atlanta, Georgia, as the principal speaker.

■

Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of Talladega, delivered the address at the commencement convocation of

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LUCILLE McELROY, *highest ranking student of the Douglass High School, Hannibal, Mo. She is winner of the $100 C. W. Carter Memorial sponsored by the Hannibal branch of the NAACP.* *(See page 368)*

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.). The occasion represented the eighty-eighth anniversary of the institution. Approximately 100 degrees of various types were awarded by the university.

Approximately 200 youth with sponsors and leaders participated in the annual 4-H short course, July 5-8, sponsored by the university's department of agriculture and home economics.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY held its second festival of fine arts May 8-14, with a formal opening and an exhibit of contemporary American paintings.

The nineteenth annual Ministers' Institute, the 18th annual Women's Missionary Training Conference, and the fifth Bible Youth Camp were held on the Shaw campus June 6-10.

The university's 90th commencement exercises were held in the Raleigh Memorial Auditorium on May 30, at which time degrees were conferred upon eighty candidates in the college of arts and sciences.

■

Commencement speaker at FLORIDA A. AND M. UNIVERSITY was the Reverend Archibald J. Carey, Jr., pastor of Quinn Chapel AME church in Chicago.

Dr. L. H. B. Foote director of health for the university hospital and health center, was presented a bronze medallion by the Florida Tuberculosis and Health Association in May in recognition of twenty years of outstanding service in the fight against tuberculosis.

The second annual workshop for secretaries, sponsored by the department of business education and ad-

ministration, convened at the college July 11-22. The workshop was conducted for secretaries and business teachers.

The department of sociology offered a workshop in scouting June 17-July 9 for the benefit of elementary teachers, sponsors, and advisors of student groups.

■

James Madison Nabrit, Jr., was commencement speaker at TALLADEGA COLLEGE on June 6.

The college announces that Michael B. Butler of St. Petersburg, Florida, is being awarded a full-tuition scholarship for 1955-56, a scholarship granted on the basis of competitive examination and renewable for four years if high standards of scholarship and performance are maintaned.

President Arthur D. Gray has announced the appointment of James Mullen, Talladega alumnus, as director of public relations for the college.

■

Annual dinner of the SPELMAN COLLEGE National Alumnae Association, presided over by Mrs. Josephine Love of Detroit, was held in June. Gifts were made by various classes.

■

The 1955 graduating class of Spelman celebrated class day on the steps of Rockefeller Hall. At the alumnae banquet the class pledged $500 a year to the "loyalty fund."

■

Dr. Mozell Hill, chairman of the department of sociology at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, has been elected first vice-president of the Southern Sociological Society. Dr. Hill is teaching this summer at Teachers college, Columbia university.

Sixty-two graduate degrees were awarded to students from nineteen states at the university commencement exercises held on June 5. The commencement address was delivered by Dr. Harry J. Carman, dean emeritus and professor of history at Columbia college, Columbia university.

Dr. C. K. P. Menon, professor of surgery and Andhra Medical College Surgeon at King George Hospital, Visakhapatnam, India, opened the university summer school forum with a talk on "The Contribution of India to Modern Thought."

■

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of MOREHOUSE COLLGE, was one of six distinguished world figures honored by Berea college, Berea, Kentucky, with honorary degrees at its commencement exercises on June 6.

The famous Kentucky college conferred on Dr. Mays the degree of D.D., appraising him as "educator and administrator of a college, leader of the Ecumenical Church, one who builds bridges between men and races by kindly insight and understanding. . . ."

President Mays announces three new additions to the college board of trustees: Mrs. Dorothy D. Compton, New York City; Dr. Alvin H. Lane, Chicago, Illinois; and Charles Merrill of the Thomas Jefferson School, St. Louis, Missouri.

Colin Cromwell, a sophomore from British Guiana, has been

selected to serve as U. S. delegate to the YMCA centennial in Paris, France, August 12-23.

■

When Wade Kornegay, 21-year-old NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE chemistry and mathematics major from Mt. Olive, North Carolina, reported to the U. S. Naval Ordnance Laboratory at White Oak, Silver Spring, Maryland, on June 1 he became the first NCC student to become a trainee in the Navy's summer program.

■

Nearly 300 students received degrees in course at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE commencement exercises on May 30. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, was the commencement speaker.

The annual three-day training conference for building service supervisors was held at VSC June 29-July 2. Purpose of the conference was to stimulate the interest of building service employees in their jobs and to present information that would help them to become more efficient in the maintenance and operation of school plants.

■

NAACP CAMPAIGN LEADERS—*Bowen K. Jackson, executive secretary of the Baltimore, Md., branch congratulates John D. Bogle, Jr., Morgan College student, who sold the highest number of memberships in the branch spring membership drive conducted by the Morgan department of economics and business. In the group, from left, are Dr. W. O. Bryson, head of department of economics and business, campaign manager; Ozelle Jones, top district manager; and Samuel Southern, instructor in economics.*

Book Reviews

AFRICAN PROBLEMS

***Africa Today*. Edited by C. Grove Haines. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955. XVI+510 pp. $6.00.**

***The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves*. By Mbiyu Koinange. Detroit: Kenya Publication Fund, 1955. 115 pp. 25¢.**

Growing American interest in Africa is bringing forward more publications about this continent and all of them, in one way or another, are useful in helping us to understand something of the people, the place, and its problems. *Africa Today* is the kind of literature sorely needed by both laymen and specialists in America for it is wide in coverage and the material deals with problems the solution of which are going to mean much to that continent and the world. This is a collection of articles developed from a symposium held at the School of Advanced International Studies in Washington in August, 1954. Something of its sweeping scope is implied in its major sections: Africa's position in world affairs, its heritage, political and social upheaval, recent developments in various sections of the continent, current and potential economic status, and Afro-American relations from African and American viewpoints. An assessment value is found in the commentary given to each contribution.

Of the many significant papers one dealing with African racial demography indicates that there is "a swing toward integration." Another article points out that in the competition between Christianity and Islam the latter is growing more rapidly since Islam does not disrupt African community life and is attractive "because there is no race prejudice within the faith," while "Christianity cannot say as much for the practice of its faith," and its emphasis on individual religion and sin has been an element in the disintegration of community life. Speaking of economics a contributor says Africa's potential will not be realized until there is improvement in the areas of education, health, labor, and agriculture. The question of Mau Mau is touched upon by ex-Governor Sir Philip Mitchell who points out the well known fact that the underlying grievance of the Kikuyu people is the feeling the "Europeans have stolen their land," and a not so well publicized fact that many of the Kikuyu soldiers returned home with skills learned during the war only to find "nothing very obviously appropriate to do."

More of the Mau Mau question from a Kikuyu point of view is presented, however, in *The People of Kenya*, and from this monograph one gains some insight into how these people, working cooperatively formed a union, constructed a cooperative, built a college, and carry on education for human relations, later realizing that such self-

initiative constructive activity had alarmed the Kenya whites. There is some talk of the resistance and how it is carried on by indigenous Africans; there are details of atrocities, but perhaps one of the most valuable aspects of this booklet is its appendix of letters, leaflets, and petitions containing information that might otherwise never reach the American public. The substantial and courageous role that Kikuyu women are playing in the Mau Mau fight is mentioned and highlights an aspect usually obscured in reports of this problem.

The language of *The People of Kenya* is sometimes loosely drawn, while some statements in *Africa Today* give cause for question: "No person has been killed in Southern Rhodesia over racial friction in this country;" "developments in West Africa will probably have little real effect on the racial situation in South Africa;" as regards South Africans "in the management of democratic institutions their record is excellent." Yet both of these volumes are well worth reading since they provide insight and information about an area of the world about which most Americans are destitute of knowledge.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

DR. HUGH H. SMYTHE *teaches anthropology at Brooklyn College, N. Y.*

The Rungless Ladder: Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England Puritanism. **By Charles H. Foster. Durham: Duke University Press, 1954. xviii+278pp. $4.50.**

Writers of American history and literary scholarship have since the framing of the Constitution rocked to and fro on the issues and aftermath of human slavery and the New England conscience. To this prolonged and unending discussion Charles H. Foster, professor of English and chairman of the division of language and literature at Grinnell College, adds a valuable study. In *The Rungless Ladder* Mr. Foster traces the progress of a visionary soul whose fundamental convictions were grounded in the Puritan tradition. Out of these convictions came *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and other works, mainly *The Minister's Wooing* (1858-9) and *Oldtown Folks* (1869) which Mr. Foster holds in higher esteem and likewise examines in detail.

But Mr. Foster's prize thematic exhibit in this book is a quality he terms "New England doubleness": this is no more than the commonplace tendency of soul-searching human natures to dwell by turns upon the comic and the serious. His claim is that this dual blend of extremes provides the key to understanding the little woman who merely launched her craft through *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and later set forth for those "fictitious shores" reflected so vividly in the New England mind.

Harriet Beecher Stowe "had her own way of seeing and listening" and "saw all life ultimately in religious terms." Among American women of her time she was the most conspicuously successful. She possessed "the Beecher vigor," which sustained her through seven childbirths and a continuously prolific writing schedule. She became in time one of the master craftsmen of American folk speech and in her rendering of character was always the insider. These qualities led to her major novels, one of which (*Oldtown Folks*) Mr. Foster considers "one of the unquestionable, but still generally unacknowledged, masterpieces of . . . American, literature."

Mr. Foster has made the most of the probable relationship between the factual evidence in Mrs. Stowe's life and her art to reinforce his analysis, which frequently becomes psychoanalysis. We learn, for instance, that "her deeper

self was born from a feeling of neglect in childhood." She was one of ten children fathered by the Rev. Lyman Beecher, who married "a conscientious, hard-working visitor in the family" after Harriet's mother d'ed. We learn from Mr. Foster's interpretation of Simon Legree's haunting visions of his mother that Harriet was obsessed with the idea of the separation of mother and child; that her Calvinistic outlook was troubled long after 1857, when her 19-year-old son, Henry Ellis, for whom she had an obsessive maternal affection, was drowned in the Connecticut River. We learn also that the fruit of her seeking to identify herself with her father and husband was "the masculine mind and imagination" and "the masculine handling of character and anecdote." Thus Mr. Foster has gone as far as reason may reasonably go to explain what reason can only conjecture.

Convincing, and clearly written, *The Rungless Ladder* is well worth reading, for it is a first-class exhibition of the techniques of modern scholarship and a reevaluation of the life and works of a woman whose memory is a challenge.

HENRY F. WINSLOW.

Layne

MAN CAMPAIGN TELEPHONES—*Telephone answering service for persons calling NAACP in New York City on May 17 in response to all-day radio announcements soliciting NAACP members was provided by four Association staff members. From left, Bobbie Branche, office manager; Cecilia A. Suyat and Mrs. Vilma Jenkins (partially hidden), secretaries; and Mrs. Roberta Williams. Radio announcements, broadcast over Station WLIB on first anniversary of Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation, were part of NAACP's first New York city-wide membership campaign. The drive closed on June 17.*

RACE SUPREMACY

(*Continued from page* 350)

type racist mentality which animated the mob that terrorized the Negro residents of Trumbull Park, Chicago. If any doubt the dangers of a master-race ideology, let them merely ponder the fate of Germany when it became possessed by that idea.

Finally, we may note that discriminatory policies have greatly contributed to the loss of prestige of the United States among the other nations of the world. Our professions of a democratic foreign policy too often appear to be a mockery when we exhibit to the world such defects of democracy at home. The Supreme Court noted that fact in its school segregation ruling, and Vice-President Nixon stated after his trip to the Far East that every act of racial discrimination in the United States did more damage to our position in the world than the act of any saboteur.

These facts present to us the inevitable conclusion that racial supremacy, discrimination and segregation are destructive of the interests of white as well as Negroes. Of course, there are a few who profit by these divisive policies, and they are the real source of the prejudice that maintains them. But the overwhelming majority of us can readily overcome them once we recognize our true interests and unite to eradicate this scourage from our land.

BRANCH DIRECTIVES

(*Continued from page* 340)

school systems under your control so that the children of public school age attending and entitled to attend public schools cannot be denied admission to any school or be required to attend any school solely because of race and color.

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